

*International Education:
U. S. Presidents and the Berlin Wall*

This lesson should take from two to five days.

I. Content:

I want my students to understand (or be able to):

- A. The importance of the Berlin Wall as a physical and ideological symbol of the Cold War,
- B. The chronology of the building and tearing down of the Berlin Wall,
- C. The use of public speeches by U.S. Presidents John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan to deliver important U.S. foreign policy positions,
- D. The role of graffiti as a form of political speech,
- E. The wall in the poem, "Mending Wall," by Robert Frost as a metaphor for any wall.

II. Prerequisites:

In order to fully appreciate this lesson, the student must know (or be experienced in):

- A. The chronology of the partition of post WWII Germany,
- B. The importance of the Berlin airlift,
- C. The fundamental ideological basis of the Cold War and its major players and events in Europe,
- D. The relationship between the USSR and the USA with respect to nuclear proliferation and US foreign policy goals in Europe.

III. Instructional Objective:

The student will synthesize this material into his growing appreciation for the complexity of the Cold War.

IV. Materials and Equipment

Teacher:

- 1. "Mending Wall" by Robert Frost, one copy per student.
- 2. John F. Kennedy's speech at the Berlin Wall, one copy per student.
- 3. Ronald Reagan's speech in West Berlin near the walled-off Brandenburg Gate, one per student.
- 4. *Internet* access to view Berlin Wall sites.
- 5. Video of the construction of the Wall.
- 6. Paint or markers

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7. Large pieces of paper and cardboard

Students:

1. "Mending Wall" by Robert Frost, one copy per student.
2. John F. Kennedy's speech at the Berlin Wall, one copy per student.
3. Ronald Reagan's speech in West Berlin near the walled-off Brandenburg Gate, one per student.
4. *Internet* access to view Berlin Wall sites.
5. Video of the construction of the Wall.
6. Paint or markers
7. Large pieces of paper and cardboard

V. Instructional Procedure:

This will depend on whether or not the teacher introduces this lesson during the Kennedy era and moves forward or during the Reagan era and reviews.

Day One:

1. Teacher will distribute, read and discuss the poem "Mending Wall" by Robert Frost (mention that he was asked by JFK to write a poem for Kennedy's inauguration) with the class. *See Appendix 1.*
2. The teacher will then introduce the building of the Berlin Wall. Review all the pertinent material relating to the partition of Germany/Berlin and the Cold War. Develop with the class the chronology of the Wall. *See Appendix 2.*
3. Ask class to discuss the GDR motivations for building the Wall.
4. Have the students go to the computer lab to view the photographic essays of the construction in its various phases, the escape attempts, the chronology of historic events, the destruction, and the graffiti of the Wall. **Key word for search: Berlin Wall.**
5. Show some footage of the original construction by the soldiers if available.
6. Have class discuss the impact of the Wall on individuals, families, the cities, and the world. *Read Appendix 3: A Letter from Anne....*
7. Assign each student to design an 8 ½" x 11" graffiti for the Wall; half the class should be in East Berlin and half in West Berlin. Remind them that the graffiti on the wall were simple designs, bold colors. Due on day three.

Day Two:

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1. Students will read the John F. Kennedy (1963) and the Ronald Reagan (1987) speeches. See appendices 4 and 5.
2. Have students share words and phrases from the speeches which they like, find meaningful, or parallel the Frost poem.
3. The students will be asked to identify the audience(s) to which each President was speaking.
4. The students will then generate a list of messages sent by the Presidents to each audience. (C and D can be done as individuals or in class discussion and teacher may choose to distribute Appendix 6: sample chart).)
5. Have the class discuss the speeches as foreign policy statements by each President; compare the tone of each speech, and determine the status of the Cold War at the time the speech was delivered.
6. Assign each student a five paragraph essay in which they compare/contrast the messages and/or audiences of the Kennedy and Reagan speeches.

Day Three:

1. Have the students display their graffiti. Give students a chance to look at each and discuss or explain them if necessary.
2. Have the class select which ones they would like to display on a cardboard wall(s).
3. Have the class divide into groups and paint the graffiti on paper to attach to cardboard or paint directly onto cardboard.

Day Four:

1. Discuss what graffiti has been a part of American life. Are there symbols that have the same meaning all over the country? Are gang tags graffiti in a political sense?
2. Return to the Frost poem. Have students choose to write a letter to either Frost to tell him about the human "ground swell under it" or to his neighbor to discuss their reactions to "good fences make good neighbors".
3. Ask the students: What have we learned about: the Berlin Wall? the Cold War? speeches given by US leaders in foreign cities? graffiti? the human spirit?

VI. Assessment/ Evaluation:

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- A. Essays: see Day Two
- B. Graffiti: see Day One
- C. Quiz covering Time Line or speech content
- D. Question(s) covering the Berlin Wall on Cold War exam
- E. Letter to Frost or his neighbor: see Day Three.

VII. Idaho Achievement Standards:

- 9-12.USH2.1.1.1 Analyze ways in which language, literature, the arts, traditions, beliefs, values and behavior patterns of diverse cultures have enriched American society.
- 9-12.USH2.4.3.2 Provide and evaluate examples of social and political leadership in American history.
- 9-12.USH2.5.1.1 Compare competing belief systems of the 20th century, including communism, totalitarianism, isolationism, and internationalism.
- 9-12.USH2.5.1.2 Trace the major foreign policy positions that have characterized the United States' relations with the world in the 20th century.
- 9-12.USH2.5.1.3 Explain the significance of principal events in the United States, relations with the world, such as World Wars I and II, formation of the United Nations, Marshall Plan, NATO, Korean and Vietnam Wars, end of the Cold War, and interventions in Latin America.

VIII. Follow Up Activities:

- A. Actually wall off part of your classroom and teach a lesson with half the class unable to fully participate, have materials, see the board, etc.
- B. Read and discuss articles about India building a wall in Kashmir.
- C. Read and discuss articles about Israel building a wall around its borders with Palestine.
- D. Read and discuss articles about gated communities in the US and what students believe is being walled in or out.
- E. Read and discuss articles about Medieval walled cities or the Great Wall of China.
- F. Use the graffiti walls to block off part of the school hallways at passing and monitor the student body reaction.

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Appendix 1

Mending Wall by Robert Frost

Something there is that doesn't love a wall,
That sends the frozen-ground-swell under it,
And spills the upper boulders in the sun;
And makes gaps even two can pass abreast.
The work of hunters is another thing: 5
I have come after them and made repair
Where they have left not one stone on a stone,
But they would have the rabbit out of hiding,
To please the yelping dogs. The gaps I mean,
No one has seen them made or heard them made, 10
But at spring mending-time we find them there.
I let my neighbour know beyond the hill;
And on a day we meet to walk the line
And set the wall between us once again.
We keep the wall between us as we go. 15
To each the boulders that have fallen to each.
And some are loaves and some so nearly balls
We have to use a spell to make them balance:
"Stay where you are until our backs are turned!"
We wear our fingers rough with handling them. 20
Oh, just another kind of out-door game,
One on a side. It comes to little more:
There where it is we do not need the wall:
He is all pine and I am apple orchard.
My apple trees will never get across 25
And eat the cones under his pines, I tell him.
He only says, "Good fences make good neighbours."
Spring is the mischief in me, and I wonder
If I could put a notion in his head:
"Why do they make good neighbours? Isn't it 30
Where there are cows? But here there are no cows.
Before I built a wall I'd ask to know
What I was walling in or walling out,
And to whom I was like to give offence.
Something there is that doesn't love a wall, 35
That wants it down." I could say "Elves" to him,
But it's not elves exactly, and I'd rather
He said it for himself. I see him there
Bringing a stone grasped firmly by the top

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In each hand, like an old-stone savage armed. 40
He moves in darkness as it seems to me,
Not of woods only and the shade of trees.
He will not go behind his father's saying,
And he likes having thought of it so well
He says again, "Good fences make good neighbours."

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Appendix 2

Time line

From the Goethe Institut: GERMANY SINCE 1945 A Focus on Berlin

London Protocol, September 12, 19" The United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union agree to divide Germany and Berlin into three zones, with the special Berlin area to be under joint occupation by the three powers.

Yalta Conference, February 4-11, 1945 Revising plans for Germany, the United States, Great Britain and the

Soviet Union carve a fourth zone for the French from those designated for the United States and Great Britain. The special Berlin area will now also have four zones.

Berlin Airlift, June 1948-May 1949 During the Soviet blockade of West-Berlin, American and British aircraft supply over 2 million inhabitants of Berlin with all food, fuel, industrial goods and raw materials. Supply deliveries grow from 500-700 tons a day in June 1948 to 12,940 tons by April 1949. Seventy-nine people lose their lives working on the operation. **Establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, May 8, 1949; Establishment of the German Democratic Republic, October 7, 1949**

Uprising in East Berlin, June 17, 1953 Construction workers in East Berlin call for a general strike. As unrest spreads to other cities, Soviet tanks are sent in at the request of the East German leadership.

German Sovereignty, May 5, 1955 The Federal Republic of Germany becomes a sovereign state. However, the Allies retain special rights regarding Berlin and Germany as a whole.

Second Berlin Crisis, November 27, 1958 through January 23, 1963 Growing tension between the Soviet Union and the United States are played out in Berlin. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev proposes neutrality for West Berlin and an end to the Four Powers rights and responsibilities regarding Germany. U.S. President John F. Kennedy responds with his "Three Essentials" speech, July 25, 1961, guaranteeing West Berlin's freedom through a continued Western presence. Khrushchev defuses the situation during a speech in East Berlin in 1963.

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Construction of the Berlin Wall, August 13, 1961 As the number of people leaving East Germany for the West increases to around 250,000 a month, the East German government decides to stop the flow with a barrier that grows to encircle West Berlin's entire area. During the wall's existence, at least 170 people are killed trying to escape from East to West Berlin.

Kennedy's Berlin Speech, June 26, 1963 U.S. President John F. Kennedy promises to stand up for Berlin's freedom in his "Ich bin ein Berliner" [I am a Berliner] speech.

Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, September 9, 1971 The agreement codifies West Berlin's links with the Federal Republic of Germany, reducing East/West tensions over Berlin.

Reagan's Berlin Speech, June 12, 1987 In a speech, U.S. President Ronald Reagan demands, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear this wall down!"

Fall of the Berlin Wall, November 9, 1989

Two-Plus-Four Treaty, September 12, 1990 The governments of the four World War II Allied Powers, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic sign the treaty in Moscow, terminating the Four Powers' rights and responsibilities regarding Berlin and Germany as a whole. The treaty calls for the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces from Germany by the end of 1994, while allowing for a continued Allied troop presence in Berlin during this period. Upon ratification, Germany is to have full sovereignty over its internal and external affairs. On March 15, 1991, the Two-Plus Four Treaty comes into effect.

German Unification, October 3, 1990 East Germany accedes to the Federal Republic of Germany. Berlin becomes the capital of a united Germany.

Berlin voted the German seat of government, June 20, 1991 The German parliament votes to move the seat of government from Bonn to Berlin. With construction underway, plans envisage the parliament, chancellery, and many ministries moving to Berlin. The move is slated to begin in 1998.

Clinton's Berlin Speech, July 12, 1994 Bill Clinton is the first U.S. president to speak at the Brandenburg Gate in a united Berlin. The final withdrawal of the Allied troops is complete by the end of the year.

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Appendix 3

The Geography of Germany from Goethe-Institut
pg.80 & 81

A Letter from Anne...

Anne, a 59-year-old teacher from what was formerly East Germany, wrote a letter in August, 1991, reflecting on the significance of "The Wall" and the events that led to its destruction and the eventual unification of Germany.

Let me begin with the fact that "The Wall" overshadowed the greater part of my life. I was 57 years old when it came down in November 1989. When studying in Berlin in the early 1950's (age 19) I had my first experience with Berlin as a "divided" city ... I used to visit my relations in West Berlin quite frequently, or I simply went window shopping or watched an interesting film there. At that time it was easily done, you bought a ticket for the underground or suburban [train] ... but you had to be prepared to undergo searching by customs officials on leaving or arriving at the "Ost-sektor" (Eastern part of Berlin). Of course, it was rather unpleasant to see prosperity in the western part and lack of goods in our part accompanied by ... ideological tutelage.

My first teaching job took me to Halberstadt (1954), a medium-size town in the foothills of the Harz Mountains. Up to 1961 I continued with my visits to West Berlin, the last time some days before the Berlin Wall was erected. Two colleagues and good friends of mine, a young married couple with two children, I had illegally left the GDR via Berlin. I had decided to stay, because my parents lived in Eastern Germany. I was their only child and hated the idea of leaving them to themselves at an age when they needed my help. Besides, I had just started to build my first home with my own money, and I enjoyed teaching and the friendly atmosphere at my first school.

Overnight [when the Wall went up] the discussions with friends whether to go west or to stay had come to an end. From 1961 on, until July 1989, I was never allowed to travel west and visit my numerous relatives in West Germany and West Berlin. I had tried several times to get permission

West Germany was not allowed to take part in the funeral.) Not only couldn't you get permission to leave - you also had to answer questions about your western "contacts" in the principal's office - and you were urged to give up or restrict your contacts. All this had to be seen against the possibilities of losing your job, if you expressed your opinion too freely.

Discontent among teachers was steadily increasing, all the more as "normal" people (not teachers) had better chances to get a visa. In addition, the economic situation became worse and worse - so thousands of people, especially young ones, took the chance of turning their backs to the socialist GDR [by leaving] via Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

When the Halberstadt "New Forum" and the church initiated meetings ... (similar to Leipzig and other big cities) where citizens could speak their minds, more and more people of Halberstadt, and other teachers, joined too.

Within a very short time there was not enough space for all inside the church, so the crowd assembled in front of the church listening to the speeches over a loudspeaker, and after the meeting a long peaceful procession of people moved through the main streets, the participants carrying candles and shouting slogans against socialist policies and especially against the Stasi (security forces). This was done every Wednesday for

weeks. It was an exciting time.

You picked up new hope for a "change". This meant first of all: No more state or party interference in our lives and the right to travel freely. I (and many others, too) did not think of currency [financial] union or even unification in those days.

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on the occasions of weddings or serious illnesses in the family, but according to the especially strict regulations for teachers my requests were always answered negatively.
Our then Minister of Education... had made the Point: "The FRG is no country for teachers to travel "

And then there was the opening of "The Wall". I learned about it when I watched the news on TV. I could not believe my eyes and ears - I was stunned and unable to move in my armchair, looking at the picture breathlessly.

Recollecting the events now I must say that my first (Our colleague whose mother had died in reaction was not to boisterous joy... I did not scream and laugh as others did - I felt empty, as if all strength had gone out of my body. The next reaction resulted in a question to myself: How long will it last?

Thousands of people rushed to their cars - they wanted to cross the borderline (which is about 30 km away from Halberstadt) and found themselves in a long, long queue. My neighbors - after waiting three hours in the exhaust gases - gave up. Their children stayed on and were successful after four hours and passed through crowds of [West Germans] applauding and throwing bottles of champagne into the "Trabis" [East German car]. One of my younger 'colleagues managed to get from Halberstadt to the Dutch frontier and back over this weekend ... I stayed at home watching the touching scenes between people of the two Germanies on TV. My first border crossing took place two weeks later. I visited a cousin in West Berlin. It took me about half an hour (as in the 1950's) to reach her apartment including passport control and the trip by suburban train. She had been a school girl when I had met her the last time in her parents' home.

Now I can travel west any time I like (if I have the money). In the remaining years of my life I will try to fill at least some of the gaps in my knowledge of Germany to get an impression of what my home country is like.

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Appendix 4

President John F. Kennedy
June 26, 1963

I am proud to come to this city as the guest of your distinguished Mayor, who has symbolized throughout the world the fighting spirit of West Berlin. And I am proud to visit the Federal Republic with your distinguished Chancellor who for so many years has committed Germany to democracy and freedom and progress, and to come here in the company of my fellow American, General Clay, who has been in this city during its great moments of crisis and will come again if ever needed.

Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was "*civis Romanus sum*." Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "*Ich bin ein Berliner*."

I appreciate my interpreter translating my German!

There are many people in the world who really don't understand, or say they don't, what is the great issue between the free world and the Communist world. Let them come to Berlin. There are some who say that communism is the wave of the future. Let them come to Berlin. And there are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin. And there are even a few who say that it is true that communism is an evil system, but it permits us to make economic progress. *Lass' sie nach Berlin kommen*. Let them come to Berlin.

Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect, but we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us. I want to say, on behalf of my countrymen, who live many miles away on the other side of the Atlantic, who are far distant from you, that they take the greatest pride that they have been able to share with you, even from a distance, the story of the last 18 years. I know of no town, no city, that has been besieged for 18 years that still lives with the vitality and the force, and the hope and the determination of the city of West Berlin. While the wall is the most obvious and vivid demonstration of the failures of the Communist system, for all the world to see, we take no satisfaction in it, for it is, as your Mayor has said, an offense not only against history but an offense against humanity, separating families, dividing husbands and wives and brothers and sisters, and dividing a people who wish to be joined together.

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What is true of this city is true of Germany--real, lasting peace in Europe can never be assured as long as one German out of four is denied the elementary right of free men, and that is to make a free choice. In 18 years of peace and good faith, this generation of Germans has earned the right to be free, including the right to unite their families and their nation in lasting peace, with good will to all people. You live in a defended island of freedom, but your life is part of the main. So let me ask you as I close, to lift your eyes beyond the dangers of today, to the hopes of tomorrow, beyond the freedom merely of this city of Berlin, or your country of Germany, to the advance of freedom everywhere, beyond the wall to the day of peace with justice, beyond yourselves and ourselves to all mankind.

Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. When all are free, then we can look forward to that day when this city will be joined as one and this country and this great Continent of Europe in a peaceful and hopeful globe. When that day finally comes, as it will, the people of West Berlin can take sober satisfaction in the fact that they were in the front lines for almost two decades.

All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words "*Ich bin ein Berliner*."

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Appendix 5

President Ronald Reagan
Remarks at the Brandenburg Gate
West Berlin, Germany
June 12, 1987

This speech was delivered to the people of West Berlin, yet it was also audible on the East side of the Berlin wall.

2,703 words

Tear down this Wall

Thank you very much.

Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world at the City Hall. Well, since then two other presidents have come, each in his turn, to Berlin. And today I, myself, make my second visit to your city.

We come to Berlin, we American presidents, because it's our duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we're drawn here by other things as well: by the feeling of history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own nation; by the beauty of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten; most of all, by your courage and determination. Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about American presidents. You see, like so many presidents before me, I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do: Ich hab noch einen Koffer in Berlin. [I still have a suitcase in Berlin.]

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and heard as well in the East. To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, a special word: Although I cannot be with you, I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you, as I join your fellow countrymen in the West, in this firm, this unalterable belief: Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that encircles the free sectors of this city, part of a vast system of barriers that divides the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic, south, those barriers cut across Germany in a gash of barbed wire, concrete, dog runs, and guard towers. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain armed

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guards and checkpoints all the same--still a restriction on the right to travel, still an instrument to impose upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state. Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the news photo and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, every man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Every man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsacker has said, "The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed." Today I say: As long as the gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind. Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope, even in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. And in 1947 Secretary of State--as you've been told--George Marshall announced the creation of what would become known as the Marshall Plan. Speaking precisely 40 years ago this month, he said: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan is helping here to strengthen the free world." A strong, free world in the West, that dream became real. Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium--virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth; the European Community was founded.

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the Wirtschaftswunder. Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty--that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin doubled.

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Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany--busy office blocks, fine homes and apartments, proud avenues, and the spreading lawns of parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters, and museums. Where there was want, today there's abundance--food, clothing, automobiles--the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm. From devastation, from utter ruin, you Berliners have, in freedom, rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. But my friends, there were a few things the Soviets didn't count on--Berliner Herz, Berliner Humor, ja, und Berliner Schnauze. [Berliner heart, Berliner humor, yes, and a Berliner Schnauze.]

In the 1950s, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind--too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself. After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds among the nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor.

And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

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I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent-- and I pledge to you my country's efforts to help overcome these burdens. To be sure, we in the West must resist Soviet expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet we seek peace; so we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western alliance with a grave new threat, hundreds of new and more deadly SS-20 nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. The Western alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution; namely, the elimination of such weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the alliance, in turn, prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days--days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city--and the Soviets later walked away from the table.

But through it all, the alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then-- I invite those who protest today--to mark this fact: Because we remained strong, the Soviets came back to the table. And because we remained strong, today we have within reach the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth.

As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for eliminating these weapons. At the talks in Geneva, we have also proposed deep cuts in strategic offensive weapons. And the Western allies have likewise made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our allies, the United States is pursuing the Strategic Defense Initiative--research to base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will not target populations, but shield them. By these means we seek to increase the safety of Europe and all the world. But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. And our differences are not about weapons but about liberty. When President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, freedom was encircled, Berlin was under siege. And today, despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands secure in its liberty. And freedom itself is transforming the globe.

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In the Philippines, in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking place--a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union faces a choice: It must make fundamental changes, or it will become obsolete.

Today thus represents a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness, to break down barriers that separate people, to create a safe, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meeting place of East and West, to make a start. Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four Power Agreement of 1971. Let us use this occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era, to seek a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us maintain and develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, which is permitted by the 1971 agreement.

And I invite Mr. Gorbachev: Let us work to bring the Eastern and Western parts of the city closer together, so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that come with life in one of the great cities of the world.

To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West, let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin more convenient, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all central Europe.

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to help bring international meetings to Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of United Nations meetings, or world conferences on human rights and arms control or other issues that call for international cooperation.

There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I'm certain,

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will do the same. And it's my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

One final proposal, one close to my heart: Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea--South Korea--has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic games here in Berlin, East and West? In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have built a great city. You've done so in spite of threats--the Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark, the blockade. Today the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall. What keeps you here? Certainly there's a great deal to be said for your fortitude, for your defiant courage. But I believe there's something deeper, something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life--not mere sentiment. No one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. Something instead, that has seen the difficulties of life in Berlin but chose to accept them, that continues to build this good and proud city in contrast to a surrounding totalitarian presence that refuses to release human energies or aspirations. Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation, that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love--love both profound and abiding.

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship. The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love and of worship an affront. Years ago, before the East Germans began rebuilding their churches, they erected a secular structure: the television tower at Alexander Platz. Virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass sphere at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that sphere--that sphere that towers over all Berlin--the light makes the sign of the cross. There in Berlin, like the city itself, symbols of love, symbols of worship, cannot be suppressed.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag, that embodiment of German unity, I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall, perhaps by a young Berliner: "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality." Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith; it cannot withstand truth. The wall cannot withstand freedom.

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And I would like, before I close, to say one word. I have read, and I have been questioned since I've been here about certain demonstrations against my coming. And I would like to say just one thing, and to those who demonstrate so. I wonder if they have ever asked themselves that if they should have the kind of government they apparently seek, no one would ever be able to do what they're doing again.

Thank you and God bless you all.

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Appendix 6

Audience:

President Kennedy:

President Reagan:

West Berliners:

West Germans:

East Berliners:

East Germans:

Americans:

N.A.T.O. Citizens:

U.S.S.R.:
